

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 1628

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PL, UR

SUBJECT: GIEREK ON 25TH CPSU CONGRESS: THE DOMESTIC CONTEXT

REF MOSCOW 3724 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK ON MARCH 10 GAVE A REPORT TO THE CENTRAL PARTY ACTIVISTS OF PZPR PARTICIPATION AT THE 25TH CPSU CONGRESS. HIS SPEECH WAS PUBLISHED THE NEXT DAY IN TRYBUNA LUDU AND THE DEPARTMENT WILL HAVE THE FULL TEXT THROUGH FBIS. WE TREAT HERE THE MAIN POINTS OF INTEREST, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF PRAVDA'S VERSION REPORTED IN REFERENCE. A STRIKING OMISSION WAS GIEREK'S ASSERTION CONCERNING THE APPLICATION OF GENERAL SOCIALIST TRUTHS TO POLAND'S SPECIFIC CIRCUMSTANCES. END SUMMARY.

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2. GIEREK'S REPORT FULLY ENDORSED THE WORK OF THE SOVIET

CONGRESS, AND THE RESOLUTION SUBSEQUENTLY ADOPTED BY THE PZPR ACTISISTS PLEDGES THEM TO STUDY AND DISSEMINATE ITS WORK. WE SEE NOTHING UNUSUAL IN THE POSITIONS GIEREK ADOPTED ON PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND CHINA; THEY ECHO THE GENERAL ATTITUDE PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED HERE. IF HE WAITED TO MAKE THESE POINTS ONLY BEFORE THE HOME AUDIENCE, AS EMBASSY MOSCOW NOTES HE WAS PERHAPS MOTIVATED BY A DESIRE TO HAVE MAXIMUM IMPACT AT THE CPSU CONGRESS IN HIS ROLE AS A STRONG ALLY AND NATIONAL LEADER. WE HAD HEARD FROM JOURNALISTS HERE THAT PART OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PRESS GUIDANCE FOR THE SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS INVOLVED PLAYING UP POLAND'S STATUS AS "THE SECOND SOCIALIST POWER."

3. PRAVDA EVIDENTLY OMITTED FROM ITS REPORT OF GIEREK'S SPEECH AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF HIS POLICY. IN ANOTHER PASSAGE DEALING WITH RELATIONS AMONG FRATERNAL PARTIES, GIEREK SAID THAT BREZHNEV HAD ACKNOWLEDGED THAT INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES HAVE THEIR OWN OUTLOOK ON A SERIES OF MATTERS, ALTHOUGH THE "GENERAL TENDENCY" IS TOWARD EVER GREATER UNION. GIEREK CONTINUED THAT THE WAY TO THIS UNION IS THROUGH JOINT EFFORTS OF THE FRATERNAL PARTIES UNDERTAKEN ON THE BASIS OF THE TESTED PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM, SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM, EQUALITY OF RIGHTS, AND COOPERATION. CONTINUING, GIEREK SAID THAT THE 25TH CONGRESS "AGAIN CONFIRMED THE LENINIST PRINCIPLE OF THE CREATIVE APPLICATION OF THE GENERAL REGULARITIES OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS OF EACH COUNTRY, OF THE JOINING BY EACH PARTY OF PATRIOTISM WITH INTERNATIONALISM."

4. THE REST OF GIEREK'S SPEECH WAS UNREMARKABLE. HE STRESSED THE THEMES OF CONTINUITY FLOWING FROM THE CONGRESS AND ITS ENDORSEMENT AND "ENRICHMENT" OF BREZHNEV'S PEACE PROGRAM, THEMES ESPECIALLY FAVORED HERE. ENUMERATING SOVIET AND SOCIALIST-CAMP "INITIATIVES" SINCE HELSINKI, HE STRESSED THE NEED FOR EXTENDING DETENTE TO THE MILITARY SPHERE AND EMPHASIZED POLAND'S SUPPORT FOR THE SOVIET POSITION ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DEVELOPING EAST-WEST ECONOMIC RELATIONS TO STRENGTHEN THE "MATERIAL INFRASTRUCTURE" OF PEACE. HE OBSERVED THAT THE RECENT CEMA PROPOSAL OF AN EEC-CEMA AGREEMENT IS MEETING AN APPROPRIATE RE-

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SPONSE AMONG THE COMMON MARKET COUNTRIES. ASIDE FROM HIS SPECIAL REMARKS CONCERNING FRG-POLISH RELATIONS, GIEREK ALSO SINGLED OUT RELATIONS WITH FRANCE AS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE. HE FURTHER VOICED SATISFACTION WITH THE "STEADY PROGRESS" IN US-POLISH ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND WITH THE FAVORABLE IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENTS IN OTHER AREAS.

6. COMMENT: THE NEED TO ADAPT GENERAL SOCIALIST TRUTHS TO POLAND'S SPECIFIC NATURE" HAS BEEN A LEITMOTIF OF POLISH DISCUSSION OF RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AT LEAST SINCE SOVIET PREMIER KOSYGIN HIMSELF GAVE EXPRESSION TO THE CONCEPT DURING HIS VISIT HERE LAST AUGUST. GIEREK'S REAFFIRMATION OF THIS NOTION AND HIS SUGGESTION THAT THE SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS SUBSCRIBED TO IT SEEM AS IMPORTANT IN THE POLISH CONTEXT AS HIS STATEMENTS CONCERNING PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND CHINA.

7. ALTHOUGH POSSIBLY AKIN TO GOMULKA'S CONCEPT OF "SEPARATE ROADS TO SOCIALISM," GIEREK'S NOTION OF POLAND'S "SPECIFIC NATURE" APPEARS MORE LIMITED IN SCOPE. IT NEVERTHELESS REPRESENTS AN EFFORT TO SECURE A DEGREE OF AUTONOMY, AT LEAST IN DOMESTIC POLICIES. PUBLIC USE OF THE TERM HAS SO FAR BEEN TENTATIVE AND GENERAL. WE WILL WATCH FOR ANY INTENSIFICATION OR REFINEMENT IN USAGE FOLLOWING GIEREK'S APPEARANCE AT THE CPSU CONGRESS.  
DAVIES

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## Message Attributes

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